

Message Text

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ACTION A-01

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R 230429Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2301

INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SEOUL 6494

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP PFOR KS US

SUBJECT: CODEL ADDABBO CALL ON PRESIDENT PARK

BEGIN SUMMARY: SUBSTANTIVE HIGHLIGHT OF AUG 18-21 SEOUL VISIT OF CODEL ADDABBO WAS 90-MINUTE SESSION AUG 20 WITH PRESIDENT PARK. CONGRESSMEN, STRESSING THEIR COMMITTEE'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS, POSED SERIES OF QUESTIONS RELATING TO FUTURE DURATION OF US FORCE PRESENCE, DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION AND ROK FORCE IMPROVEMENT PLANS. PRESIDENT RESPONDED AT GREAT LENGTH ALONG EMERGING STANDARD LINES REGARDING NEW ROK FIVE-YEAR FORCE MODERNIZATION PLAN, NATURE OF NORTH KOREAN ATTACK WHICH ROK FORCES MIGHT BE ABLE REPEL WITH OR WITHOUT US SUPPORT, AND SECURITY SITUATION WHICH REQUIRED IMPOSITION OF RESTRAINTS ON POLITICAL FREEDOMS. HE ALSO DENIED THERE REALISTIC PROSPECT OF ROK/JAPAN DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT AND SAID NORTH KOREA HAD NOT BEEN RESPONSIVE TO ROK EFFORTS TO INITIATE RESTORATION OF DIALOGUE. PRESIDENT APPEARED MOODY AND LESS ANIMATED THAN IN CONVERSATIONS WITH EARLIER CODELS. END SUMMARY.

1. CONGRESSMAN ADDABBO, AFTER REFERRING TO HOPE HE MIGHT SEE PRESIDENT IN WASHINGTON, SAID CODEL HAD NUMBER OF QUESTIONS. SOME MIGHT SEEM ANTAGONISTIC BUT ALL REFLECT CONCERNS OF AMERICAN PEOPLE AND IN PARTICULAR THIS CODEL, WHICH MUST CONSIDER APPROPRIATION CONFIDENTIAL

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OF OVER \$100 BILLION FOR MILITARY PURPOSES.

2. ADDABBO FIRST ASKED WHAT ROLE PRESIDENT SAW FOR US FOOT SOLDIER IN EVENT OF NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION.

PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT THERE ARE TWO POSSIBLE TYPES OF ATTACK:

- 1) BY NORTH KOREA ALONE AND
- 2) WITH SOVIET OR CHINESE SUPPORT SINCE NORTH

KOREA HAS MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH BOTH.

IN EVENT OF LIMITED ATTACK, ROK FORCES COULD COPE WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL HELP FROM U.S. ROK FORCES COULD REPEL LARGE-SCALE ATTACK NOT INVOLVING SOVIET OR CHINESE ASSISTANCE IF GIVEN AIR, NAVAL AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FROM U.S. BUT WITHOUT US INVOLVEMENT ON THE GROUND. IF ATTACK INVOLVED SOVIET OR CHINESE ASSISTANCE, PRESIDENT SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO FORESEE ANOTHER (BUT UNSPECIFIED) ROLE FOR US FORCES.

3. SAYING CONGRESS FACES MAJOR PROBLEM IN PROVIDING SUPPORT AND AID TO COUNTRIES WHERE POLITICAL LIBERTIES ARE SUPPRESSED, ADDABBO ASKED HOW LONG PRESIDENT ENVISAGED CONTINUATION OF LIMITED SUPPRESSION WHICH PREVAILS HERE. PRESIDENT RESPONDED THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN ASKED BY MANY VISITING CONGRESSMEN. SOME AMERICANS APPARENTLY SEE KOREA AS GOVERNED BY DICTATORIAL REGIME WHERE PEOPLES' RIGHTS ARE TOTALLY SUPPRESSED. AS CONGRESSMEN MAY HAVE SEEN, THIS NOT CORRECT. COMPARED TO U.S. THERE ARE SOME LIMITATIONS. PRESIDENT SHARES WITH HIS CRITICS WHSH THAT KOREAN PEOPLE ENJOY UNLIMITED POLITICAL FREEDOMS. HOWEVER, EVEN DEFELOPED COUNTRIES WITH LONG TRADITION OF DEMOCRACY HAVE RECORDS OF SUPPRESSION IN TIMES OF EMERGENCY OR WHEN NATIONAL SURVIVAL UNDER THREAT. EVEN LINCOLN TOOK SPECIAL MEASURES TO SUSPEND CIVIL RIGHTS DURING AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. ACCORDING TO STUDY OF CIVIL WAR PRESIDENT HAS RECENTLY READ, LINCOLN SUSPENDED HABEAS CORPUS AND ARRESTED AND HELD WITHOUT TRIAL THOUSANDS OF DISSIDENTS.

4. PRESIDENT NOT USING LINCOLN'S ACTIONS AS JUSTIFICATION FOR MEASURES HE HAS TAKEN BUT SITUATIONS ARE COMPARABLE. MOREOVER US CONSTITUTION GIVES PRESIDENT CONFIDENTIAL

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EXTRAORDINARY POWERS IN EMERGENCY; SO DOES KOREAN CONSTITUTION. LATTER WAS AMENDED BY OVERWHELMING MAJORITY TO PROVIDE THESE POWERS IN 1972. OPPOSITION, NEVERTHELESS, CONTINUED TO CLAIM THESE AMENDMENTS INFRINGED ON BASIC RIGHTS OF PEOPLE. PRESIDENT DECIDED TO PUT CASE TO PEOPLE THEMSELVES. VERDICT IN REFERENDUM IN FEBRUARY WAS THAT CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE RETAINED.

5. PRESIDENT CONTINUED THAT IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, OPPOSITION SHOULD ABIDE BY VERDICT OF MAJORITY, BUT HIS OPPONENTS STILL CONTINUED EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE. THE PRESIDENT FELT THIS FUTILE WRANGLE DID HAMPER SECURITY. MOREOVER, FALL OF VIETNAM RIASED

LEVEL OF THREAT. PRESIDENT THEREFORE, INVOKED POWERS PROVIDED HIM UNDER CONSTITUTION. PRESENT EMERGENCY MEASURES GENERALLY PROHIBIT CRITICISM OF CONSTITUTION OR ADVOCACY OF CHANGE, BUT PERMIT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEMBERS TO COMMENT ON CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE. AS FOR STUDENTS, DEMONSTRATIONS ARE ANNUAL SPRING EVENT BUT IN SOME CASES HAVE BEEN INSTIGATED BY COMMUNISTS, SO MEASURES

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PROHIBIT STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS. THEY ALSO PROHIBIT IMMIGRATION BY PERSONS WHO WOULD ILLEGALLY REMOVE GREAT WEALTH FROM KOREA, SINCE THIS WOULD AFFECT ECONOMY AND DESTROY MORALE OF PEOPLE.

6. PRESIDENT ADDED THAT WHAT IS OBVIOUSLY NEEDED IS BETTER PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFORT TO CONVINCE US PEOPLE THAT NOT ALL CIVIL LIBERTIES AND FREEDOMS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED AND THAT PEOPLE ARE FREE TO ENJOY DAILY LIFE. IT REGRETTABLE, BUT IN KOREA THERE MUST BE RESTRICTIONS ON SOME FREEDOMS IN ORDER THAT OTHERS MAY BE ENJOYED. MAJORITY OF KOREANS WISH ROKG GIVE FIRST PRIORITY TO DEFENSE OF NATION AND LIVES AND PROPERTY OF PEOPLE.

7. REPRESENTATIVE CEDERBERG ASKED WHETHER IN LIGHT OF SEA COLLAPSE, THERE ANY RESERVATIONS ABOUT US ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO LIVE UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS TO KOREA. PRESIDENT SAID HE DOES NOT DOUBT US RESOLVE, ALTHOUGH FRANKLY SOME KOREANS DO HARBOR DOUBTS.

8. CONGRESSMAN COUGHLIN ASKED WHETHER THERE ANY LONG-RUN ADVANTAGES IN MUTUAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENT IN NE ASIA AND HOW PRESIDENT VIEWED PROSPECTS FOR SUCH ARRANGEMENT WITH JAPAN. PRESIDENT SAID UNFORTUNATELY HE COULD SEE NO PROSPECT FOR CONCLUSION OF MUTUAL SECURITY PACT WITH JAPAN FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE. COMMON SENSE MIGHT SEEM TO MAKE SUCH PACT ADVISABLE, BUT DUE TO DELICATE

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HISTORICAL RELATIONS AND PUBLIC SENSITIVITIES IN BOTH COUNTRIES NONE SEEMED POSSIBLE. INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH JAPANESE MIGHT, HOWEVER, BE DEVELOPED AND SHOULD BE EXPLORED, ALTHOUGH THESE WOULD DEVELOP WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY.

9. CONGRESSMAN MILLER ASKED WHAT RESULT WOULD BE IF US MILITARY AID WERE CUT OFF AND THERE WERE NO MILITARY ASSISTANCE NEXT YEAR. PRESIDENT REVIEWED HISTORY OF US MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO KOREA, NOTING THAT THERE NOW NO CURRENT ECONOMIC AID AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS BEING RECEIVED AT GREATLY REDUCED VOLUME. HE THEN SAID ROK IS IMPLEMENTING PLANS TO REDUCE FURTHER FINANCIAL DEPENDENCE ON U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE. BOTH PRESIDENT AND KOREAN PEOPLE ARE EXERTING STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE SELF-RELIANCE AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. WITH COMPLETION OF MOD PLAN TO WHICH US COMMITTED, (AND THERE IS A \$600 MILLION SHORTFALL), ROKG WOULD NOT EXPECT FURTHER GRANT AID. PLAN SHOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLETED BY THIS YEAR, BUT FULFILLMENT HAD TO BE DEFERRED DUE TO CONGRESSIONAL RESTRICTIONS.

10 CONGRESSMAN ADDABBO ASKED WHEN ROK FORCES WOULD BE CAPABLE OF DETERRING AGGRESSION WITHOUT ASSISTANCE OF US FORCES. PRESIDENT SAID PRIMARY ROK OBJECTIVE WAS TO ACHIEVE CAPABILITY TO REPEL ATTACK BY NORTH KOREA ALONE. THIS CAN BE ATTAINED WITHIN FOUR-FIVE YEARS. TO ATTAIN IT, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HAS ENACTED NEW DEFENSE TAX WHICH WILL INCREASE DEFENSE BURDEN ON KOREAN PEOPLE. NEW TAX WILL RAISE REVENUE EQUAL TO ONE-FOURTH OF CURRENT NATIONAL RECEIPTS. WITH THESE FUNDS ROK WILL STRENGTHEN FORCES OVER NEXT FOUR-FIVE YEARS IN AREAS WHERE THEY NOW DEFICIENT - AIR AND NAVAL FORCES, AND FIRE POWER AND MOBILITY OF GROUND FORCES. IF NORTH KOREANS ALSO UP-GRADE CAPABILITIES, PRESIDENT WILL ASK NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO EXTEND DEFENSE TAX TO PERMIT ROK TO CATCH UP.

11. ADDABBO ASKED ABOUT NORTH KOREAN RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR RESTORATION OF DIALOGUE WITH NORTH KOREA IN AUG 15 NATIONAL DAY SPEECH. PRESIDENT REPLIED DOUBTFULLY THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO RESPONSE.
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12. CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS ASKED WHAT MESSAGE PRESIDENT WISHED TO CONVEY TO AMERICAN PEOPLE. PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT KOREA DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR PAST US EFFORTS TO HELP AND ASKED THAT AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND SPECIAL AND UNIQUE PROBLEMS FACED BY ROK. AMERICANS SHOULD

VIEW THESE PROBLEMS FROM VIEWPOINT OF KOREANS WHO LIVE
IN THIS LAND AND NOT BY YARDSTICK OF FOREIGNERS RE-
SIDING THOUSANDS OF MILES FROM DANGER.
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